

PEACE NEWS

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"Justice" in the "rough"

by E. W. P. VEALE

AMONG the many and pungent comments that have been made on the Nuremberg "Trial," one that emanates from British and American Service chiefs of high standing is to the effect that the accusations brought against the Heads of the German Army, Navy and Luftwaffe will "bring discredit upon the whole profession of arms." If such were indeed the case the pacifist would have little to worry him. One of the most potent causes of war has always been the glamour that attaches to its leading practitioners.

The trouble is that such "discredit" is all one-way and applies solely to the "enemy," that is, to the defeated side. The victorious chiefs may still preen themselves in the popular acclamation and walk the earth at will. It is only their "opposite numbers" that have to pay the penalty for misdeeds alleged to have been committed either on their direct orders or by obscure subordinates in remote parts of a huge battlefield yet nominally under their control.

AS Prof. Gilbert Murray has aptly pointed out the whole basis of this strange proceeding seems to be that the victors, with records white as driven snow, are entitled to sit in judgment on the vanquished, whose reputations are besmirched by the foulest of crimes. The verdict of posterity will simply be that the victors, because they won the war, sat in judgment on the vanquished because they lost!

That the victors' conduct is far from unsullied is common knowledge; yet the "Trial of War Criminals" deals with offences from one side only. Thus Admiral Doenitz is confronted with the "murder" of 30,000 British able-bodied seamen on the high seas in wartime, mostly sailing in strongly protected convoys; and as much on active service as any crew of a tank or battleplane. But the commander, whose men in one night slew 25,000 hapless refugees, mostly women and children, in the open city of Dresden, is not called upon to defend this massacre of defenceless non-combatants, the weak, the sick and the aged.

THAT such a blatant contrast between the penalization of the vanquished and the immunity of the victors will act as a deterrent in the next war is in the highest degree improbable. Rather will the conviction grow that war is an all-in fight without rules—a large-scale reversion to the primitive conception of "trial by combat," with life and liberty as the prize of victory and death after insult as the penalty of defeat. Such courtesies as succour to the wounded or quarter to prisoners will become things of the past.

SHOOT OR TRUST?

SINCE we referred to the evacuation of Egypt by British troops, Mr. Bevin, in a spirited defence of his policy, has said some good things—so good that we want to repeat them: he had not acted reluctantly; he was deliberately trying to begin negotiations as an act of good faith; he was not going to break them off at the first disappointment; he could have recommended force but had decided to offer friendship. In short he was prepared to trust rather than shoot. History might have taken a different course if former statesmen had spoken and acted likewise.

A step in the right direction does not lead all the way to a new and peaceful world; though now that Germany, Italy and Japan have been crushed and only peace-loving peoples are left the millennium ought to have arrived! Mr. Bevin still lays great emphasis on the need for defence which appears to mean in relation to the Canal Zone the building

CZECH DEMOCRACY NOW ON TRIAL

Where a working compromise with Communism may be found

THE food situation grows more and more serious; it also grows more and more confused. The immediate outcome of Mr. Morrison's visit to Washington has been not a clarification, but a very serious misunderstanding: over which Mr. Churchill may rejoice, but nobody else will.

When Mr. Morrison gave his account of the negotiations in the Commons, Mr. Churchill denounced it as a "rigmarole." He suggested that whereas on the debit side Britain's sacrifice of 200,000 tons of wheat was plain, what accrued on the credit side was totally obscure. The spokesman of the USA State Department has corroborated Mr. Churchill by denying Mr. Morrison's statement that USA had committed itself to keeping rations in the British zone in Germany at the level of those in the American zone. He also said that USA had entered into no particular commitments regarding India. So Mr. Churchill's vehement criticism of Mr. Morrison is, on the face of things, justified.

Sympathy for Morrison

NEVERTHELESS, our sympathies are with Mr. Morrison. He has been trying to negotiate with a Government which is inclined to play the game of democratic politics in its most discreditable form. He obviously thought he had reached what is known as a gentleman's agreement. "We'll see you through," said the USA in effect, "if you give up the 200,000 tons." Mr. Morrison made these assurances appear more definite than they actually were. But if Mr. Morrison's interpretation of the agreed official statement issued in Washington on May 17 was incorrect,

Observer's Commentary

the statement itself was utterly meaningless.

It was "deemed desirable," said the statement, "that the ration scale in the British and French zones of Germany should be adjusted upwards to the level prevailing in the US zone at the earliest possible date," and that to this end the British and American zone commanders would each make every effort in his zone to achieve uniformity of feeding as between the zones." Either this meant that supplies would be pooled between the zones, or it was empty verbiage.

If Mr. Morrison has been diplomatically outwitted on a matter so grave, and Britain has been simply tricked into giving up its claim on 200,000 tons, we must grin and bear it. But the discredit of the whole affair falls squarely on the USA.

Czech test-case

THE Czecho-Slovak elections may give some indication of the way in which a solution will ultimately be found to one of the most vexed—and the most interesting—problems of the new Europe: how far, in the case of

a democratic country in the Russian sphere, the necessary subordination of its policy to that of Russia is compatible with the continued existence of democratic institutions. The tension between the two urges is great and at present unresolved.

The Russians were prevailed upon to abandon their plan of marching the Red Army through the country at election time: one up for democracy. Those who refuse to support any of the candidates of the parties of the National Front are not allowed candidates of their own: one down for democracy. Instead they are allowed to return white papers in a special ballot box, and these are to be divided equally between the parties of the National Front! That is one more down for democracy, with a vengeance.

But one must not be despondent. There may eventually emerge some creative compromise between constitutional democracy and Communism. It certainly does no good to the Czechs, or Europe, or to our own minds to dismiss the elections as a parody of democracy. Compared to British practice they are.

No comparison

BUT the difference between the situations of the two countries is so great that direct comparison is unprofitable. Czecho-Slovakia has undergone a revolution. It cannot afford to risk chaos by offering a share in effective power to parties who do not accept the revolution. What would the position be in Britain if the opposition were to proclaim its intention, as soon as it is returned to power, of de-nationalizing everything that the Labour government is nationalizing? The opposition in Britain, apart from a few negligible fire-eaters, is careful to avoid any

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

TODAY IN GERMANY

One child in 6 cannot get up

Even with the generous help of the Swedish Red Cross in Germany and the allocation of British Army rations to children, many of them still have to stay away from school because they have not sufficient physical strength to get up out of bed and move about.

SPEAKING to a crowded meeting at the Holborn Hall, London, last week Mr. Fenner Brockway gave a first-hand and objective report on his recent visit to N.W. Germany. He first paid tribute to the facilities offered him by the British authorities and proudly proclaimed that no other government in the world "would allow the conditions of absolute freedom which I enjoyed."

As to conditions inside Germany a teacher in Hamburg told him that the present curriculum is far more reactionary than during the régime of the Social Democrats. Of a class of 40 children at least seven were absent each day because of hunger.

This was specially remarkable because, on the whole, exceptional provision was being made for the children. Many received a meal four days a week from the Swedish Red Cross. Twice a week they had "Pacific Packets" containing rations of high protein and vitamin value originally intended for British troops in the Far East.

"People of Germany are not yet dying in the streets," he said, but in the words of a leading nutrition expert at a hospital in Hamburg they were "now living on themselves." Fenner Brockway said that at least one-third of 9,000,000 townsfolk are existing on an impossible ration of 1,000 calories a day.

Of the political situation Fenner Brockway said "Germany today is again a battle-ground and the decisive issues of the future of the world are being fought out now as they were during the years of war." Unless conditions in Germany were changed the Communist Party would win.

In a little town in Westphalia two British Tommies asked him as a newspaper man who were the real enemies—German or Russian? They were bewildered by the fact that British

and Russian armed guards were marching up and down on each side of the zone border, eyes on each other as though the guns might go off at any moment.

A meeting with four Socialists from the Russian zone he described "as a most depressing evening." Three of these had been utterly broken in spirit. A Russian military officer, they said, attended every meeting of the Social Democratic Party. By the loss of his job or his house, by deportation or internment such men are gradually broken, after surviving years in a Nazi concentration camp, by Communist intimidation and dictatorship.

The trek in Germany was now beginning from West to East as conditions in the Western occupied zones become worse and the earlier hatred of the Russians was passing.

and in Austria

you get 947 calories

THE normal consumer in Austria receives 947 calories a day. This fact was emphasized by Dr. Heinrich Schmid, Austrian Government representative in London, when he spoke to a National Peace Council lunch-hour audience in London last Friday.

Dr. Schmid's subject was "Austria and the Peace." They were not unrelated—both were in a delicate state of health, convalescent after a long coma.

The wounds were too deep, the strains too great, as revealed in the "horizontal" as well as the "vertical" significance of the past war, to be otherwise. It had taken an indivisible war to demonstrate that peace was indivisible.

Following the great instability of Austria's position ever since the Treaty of St. Germain, Austrians heard "with a shock of joy and hope" of the Moscow Declaration of 1943. Moreover, Austria felt that she had paid a fair price towards her liberation—over 6,000 had been executed in Vienna alone.

But still "Austria offers a military aspect, like a field of manoeuvres," said Dr. Schmid. "We realize that we are important, but we would prefer to be less important—and less occupied."

Nazism, as a political idea, was dead in Austria. The key nazis had gone; the rest was an educational problem. "The rank and file followers," said Dr. Schmid, "should be treated constructively. We don't want to hunt dead hares in Austria."

Yet the new Austria still lacked shape. After Liberation must come Liberty. In her efforts at reconstruction she had heard with dismay of the decision taken by the Four Powers in relation to the South Tyrol.

Austria had a task—not a "mission"—in the Danube area. She strove to be a bridge, not a bridge-head, between East and West, North and South. It was a bridge which should be underpinned.

In answer to questions Dr. Schmid made it clear that UNRRA had taken over responsibility for feeding all Austria on May 1.

Sir George Frankenstein, former Austrian Ambassador to London, asked two questions which were critical of the size of Russian occupation forces and of the Russian attitude to treaty-making with Austria. Dr. Schmid repeated that: "Many of Austria's difficulties were not within the will and power of Austria but were situated in the international field," and added:

"But we are fully aware that the Government of this country are doing their best to expedite constructive solutions."

up of formidable armies by the Arab States. But national armaments are a threat to peace; and defence has a deadly way of looking like defiance.

So we must continue to work for all-round disarmament and we ask for the maintenance of contributions to Headquarters' Fund in order that the PPU may do so. If we trust we cannot keep an atomic bomb up our sleeve. Having renounced war and so disarmed ourselves there is no temptation for us to shoot people instead of trusting them.

MAUD ROWNTREE
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UPSIDE DOWN

"PACIFISM," says Mr. George Orwell, "is the product of the British Navy." There is much truth in it; and truth is always salutary. It is the fact that organized pacifism has hardly manifested itself in countries with a land frontier to defend. There, military conscription has become the tradition, and legalized conscientious objection has never been able to establish itself, as it has done in the Anglo-Saxon countries. When the man who thinks of refusing military service is faced with the prospect of ten years penal servitude, he tends to think again. The typical continental pacifist is a man who does his military service, under silent protest. For the same reason organized pacifism—an association of those who refuse military service—is an impossibility in the average continental country.

British pacifists who regard British practice in this matter as the norm, and that of the continental countries as the abnormality are therefore looking at things upside down. British pacifism itself is the abnormality in Europe. The real question to be asked is whether this British abnormality of pacifism has significance for the rest of Europe, or not. There is no reason why it should not have. The fact that a certain type of conduct has been developed in unusual and privileged conditions does not deprive it of validity. But the condition of its having some validity is that it should become fully conscious of its own conditioning. It must cease to be naive.

One may put the peculiarity of British pacifism more forcibly by saying that it is a pacifism based on the assumption of the impossibility of military defeat. This assumption, which is at the basis of British pacifism, is manifest in two ways. It is, first, an assumption common to the whole of the nation. It is because they do not regard defeat as a possibility, that the British permit conscientious objection and have allowed organized pacifism to develop. Second, since British pacifists are eminently British, it is an assumption in the minds of pacifists themselves: to such an extent that there is no charge that galls a British pacifist more bitterly than that he is a "defeatist"—in spite of the plain fact that he is, and can be, nothing else.

Hitherto, he has tended to turn the point of the charge by suggesting that he knows a better method of avoiding defeat than military resistance. He has a new technique of behaviour by which the purpose of an enemy's war-effort—which is to impose his will upon this country—can be nullified. Indeed if the nation would abandon its obsolete methods of resistance to an enemy, by force of arms, the pacifists would see to it that by the methods of non-violent resistance the seemingly victorious enemy was finally discomfited.

That sounds excellent: but it is striking how few pacifists are now really convinced of it. It is much rather something which they would like to believe than something they do believe. Therefore it is of urgent importance that pacifists should get down to a real study of the facts. The facts themselves now demand it. We have available to us now the complex histories of resistance after military defeat in many different European countries. But it is notable that even in those countries where the oppression was least ruthless the native advocates of non-violent resistance are careful not to suggest that, in the existing conditions, non-violence would have secured their liberty. Men would have needed to be very different from what they were.

That in itself is nothing against non-violent resistance. But it does suggest that it is henceforward the duty of pacifism to start, fairly and squarely, from the assumption of military defeat and the necessity of making people different from what they are.

Another Page of Letters to the Editor

ACCORDING to a newspaper report, Mr. George Earle, formerly USA Ambassador to Bulgaria and Austria, declared, in Boston, that Russia was the "greatest danger that had ever threatened America." He advocated stern measures even to the point of using the atomic bomb before Russia has time to develop it: adding that "if Russia had it there would be no

Americans alive to-day." He intends to crusade against this frightful menace of Bolshevism. It will be interesting to watch the reactions of the people of USA—and elsewhere.

There is, however, enough material in the devastating proposals of Mr. Earle to warrant some sort of analysis. If his premises are correct, that is IF Russia constitutes a menace to something which he synthesises as America (we will not at this point go into the question of what he intends us to understand by the term), and IF this America is something which it is imperative should be preserved at whatever cost to others, then his logic is incontestable.

Why wait until the danger grows to such proportions as to render it doubtful which will survive? Suppose, to bring the issue to a simple form, free from the human entanglement, the "menace" lay in a germ or a plague of insect or other pests:

D. R. A. PARSONS writes in your issue 24 May: "It is useless to look to the Churches for help." I sympathize with him. But I wonder whether he or many of our readers have read "The era of atomic energy" (SCM 2/-), the report of the commission appointed by the Protestant Churches in this country to consider what the attitude of Christians should be to atomic war. It is a most important report, in many ways hopeful, and one from which at least some help can be derived.

PATRICK FIGGIS.

clearly the right time to deal with it would be in the incipient stages before it had obtained a hold. Delay would be folly. Of course there might, in the latter case, be a greater degree of unanimity amongst the people, but if Mr. Earle can convince his hearers of the reality and urgency of the danger their argument should presage action.

That is the logic of thinking in the terms which the majority of people persist in applying to war—one country beset by another—the logic that, strangely enough, fails to be implemented when war is embarked upon, or it would take on a vastly different aspect. If operative it would make for quick and decisive use of all the powers already at disposal to ensure a complete and rapid end to the "enemy's" power to fight! It would be war. And it would be sheer nonsense (in fact there would not be time) to work up enthusiasm for it on the plea of aggression versus right, or to hammer away for six years or more yelling "they began it" and all that school-boy stuff. Mr. Earle may, or may not, succeed in working up the necessary fears but it will not be in time to deal his suggested death-blow before the enemy is ready.

In the meantime the means of waging war will be steadily increasing and plans for its extended duration carefully laid, and in due course, no doubt, the "menace" will appear, as it so conveniently does when the "system" is in dire straits. By that time the people, everywhere, will have been properly conditioned and will be ready again to hurl their products at each other to the satisfaction and profit of the promoters. None the less, it is clear, neither Earle nor Stalin will have much to do with the decision: their cock-a-doodle-doings are but the windy preludes to the activities of those behind them who are less vocal but much more sinister and—it must be regretfully admitted—still able to "call the tune."

War, famine, plague, untimely graves
So long as fools will fight for knaves.
COLLIN COATES.

13 Canning Highway, South Perth,
Western Australia.

P.o.W. camp visitors

IT is good news that the Society of Friends has petitioned the Government about German P.o.W.s in England.

It is at present illegal to supplement their meagre diet, to give them a drink of cold water, or a cigarette or newspaper, or to talk with them (apart from needful directions regarding work). Thus a magnificent opportunity of developing goodwill is denied to people, with the result that bitterness is increasing in the camps, and thousands of men who might have gone back to all parts of Germany to spread among their neighbours their good opinions of the inherent decency of Britishers, are likely to go back to sow the seeds of hatred.

It is not too late to remedy this and I suggest that as a modified form of fraternisation, selected individuals be allowed as visitors to the camps, and that, apart from reasonable seclusion of the men to their camps after work, all other restrictions be abolished.

C. E. TRITTON.

Shepherds Corner,
Ringmer, Sussex.

Collin Coates, a correspondent living in Australia, whose letter appears in full on this special feature page sums up his remarks on the atomic bomb thus:

"War, famine, plague,
untimely graves,
So long as fools will fight
for knaves."

STEEL EFFICIENCY?

I FIND myself rather at a loss to follow John Scanlon's reasoning in his article on "Steel and Efficiency" in Peace News of May 17. The big question which all the statistics lead up to is fundamental enough: "What are we being efficient for?" But it is a question which can only be considered at a very profound level if it is to have some real moment and the argument developed on the

Observer's slip?

IT is not often that "Observer" slips. But he was surely in error when he declared on May 10: "The preservation of the peaceful processes of democratic government is far more important for the happiness of man than economic justice itself."

When economic injustice reaches a certain degree it becomes a moral issue. Objective economic justice is a worth-while and an entirely idealistic concern, and it is only when economic justice is sought subjectively—as by Russia and Russophiles since the death of Lenin and by nationalists and imperialists always—that it suffers loss of respect among liberal-minded men.

Democracy, being no more as yet than a particular form of political mechanics with a limited application, is irrelevant to morality and so also to happiness. If democracy is ever to become an instrument conditioning man's possibilities of happiness, world political anarchy must be resolved into cosmopolitan order. Each one has no alternative but to raise his voice for peace and order if he can and if he dare, while living his life striving for economic justice by standards of his own devising and for himself, or, if he be a responsible politician, for his fellow-nationals. Pacifist or not, there is no escape for any of us from this position save through cosmopolitan order, but for pacifists especially every other task ought to be set aside until this task is accomplished.

B. W. SIDWELL.

114 Regent Street,
Nelson, Lancs.

basis of steel production figures is so superficial that I feel it actually takes me away from the truth.

We are to suppose that steel is a superfluous commodity in peace time and that efficiency implies unemployment: this is where I lose the tracks completely. Here we have a clear case made out against capitalism and poor old "efficiency" gets the blame.

We want to be efficient in our manufacture of steel as in all our other industries in order to keep our economic head above water and so provide ourselves with food, clothing and shelter, and by making the most of what we have to contribute most to the rebuilding of the world. What is more, with intelligent administration, more machines mean more goods and shorter hours; not unemployment. That's not impossible, or mad, it's common-sense and socialism.

I'm afraid the real question remains untouched and I look forward to John Scanlon getting down to it in some future issue.

MICHAEL BARCLAY.

King's College, Cambridge.

Leisure and War

OSWELL BLAKESTON'S carrot of two hours work a day has been dangled before the workers for over forty years. Today a socialist Government has to ask the Trade Unions to soft pedal their demand for a shorter working week because of war, debt payments, demands for a bigger export trade and for higher standards of living.

Then his panacea: "full mechanization," does not bring more leisure as he assumes, but more wants and the need for still more exports: hence more wars.

Mr. Blakeston would be well advised to study the IISO Report a little more closely. He might also study the review of Aldous Huxley's new book: "Science, Liberty and Peace," now appearing in Peace News.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

12 Victoria Avenue,
Quinton, Birmingham, 32.

Basic Issues—No. 5

This is the next section of the draft interim report of the International, Industrial and Social Order Committee of the PPU.

FINANCE AND CURRENCY

1. The desirable functions of finance and currency are:—

- (a) To facilitate the smooth exchange and distribution of goods and services;
- (b) To provide and maintain a measure of stability in such exchange and distribution;
- (c) To facilitate the development of research and invention and of productive processes.

2. The launching of any enterprise in modern society necessitates the use of part of the productive resources of the community for the production of capital goods. This can be done by:—

- (a) Investment of individual and collective savings;
- (b) Public enterprise financed by taxation;
- (c) Allocation by a public authority of the necessary resources as part of a planned economy.

3. In a morally ordered society both the investment and the withdrawal of capital will be regulated by national and local Boards in such a way as to ensure its use for the common good.

4. While the concentration of capital into large investing units may be unavoidable (and indeed in some cases may be desirable), large-scale ownership by individual persons is bad both for the person and for society. This implies that a limit should be placed on the amount of accumulated wealth, whether in land or in any other form, which may be held by one person.

5. While the ideal economic system would eliminate the need for interest, as distinct from payment by borrowers of operational costs,

it may be necessary as an interim measure to pay a small amount of interest as an inducement to save and invest. The use of capital merely for the purpose of earning dividends or the lending of money at high rates of interest must, however, be avoided.

6. The complexity of a financial system being almost directly related to the complexity of the economic system to which it is attached, simplification of the latter would inevitably lead to simplification of the former. Such a development would so affect financial and currency practice as to tend towards the elimination of non-productive operations, such as, for example:—

- (a) Artificial creation of credit by any other agency than a public authority;
 - (b) Speculative dealing in land, commodities, stocks and shares, foreign exchange, etc.
7. The volume of currency should be regulated in such a way as to give a stable price level and to equate purchasing power with the volume of goods produced.

HOUSMAN'S

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Occupations of the occupiers

RECENT items in *Peace News* have induced Fredrick Lohr to send us the following letter from a soldier in the British zone of Germany "in case readers have the impression that the occupation army in Germany is just dying to feed the people and only prevented by the wicked authorities." Mr. Lohr comments: "In fact the war shows that the private soldier is just as big a beast as any politician and just as lacking, as an individual, as anybody else. . . It is no good blinding ourselves to the fact that the general standard of morality and charity during this war shows a catastrophic decline from the last war, and this does reflect itself in the behaviour of occupational troops."

I DO not believe German rations will again be cut by one-third; that is absurd—at least not in the British zone, where there is actual starvation and not only a threat of it. Cutting by one-third would simply mean death for millions in a very short time. On the food that the Germans are getting now they are only suffering and getting thin and weak. The sight of children and adults picking food scraps from dirty garbage cans around army kitchens is very common.

Petty Sadism

"The pathetic thing in this food situation is that the Army wastes so much good food and nothing is done about it, also too many individuals, both officers and rankers, are absolutely heartless, have neither any sympathy or interest and are often openly mean and hostile. I personally have to put up with many insults, grumbling and hostility every time I take food off the table, food that was left on plates uneaten by others. Some are so mean as to stick cigarette butts, matches or cigarette ashes into the remains on their plates, purposely so that the Germans would not get the discarded scraps.

"I saw the following scene: A slightly drunk soldier pulled out a package of cigarettes, lighted one, took a few puffs and threw it on the ground. A German dived for it. The soldier dashed at him, struck him on the head with his fist and crushed the cigarette with his boot. Then lighted another cigarette, took two puffs, threw it again and waited for another victim. Similar sights of petty individual sadism against Germans could be given by the thousands. You see it every day on the street, nobody can interfere, nobody can do anything about it.

"The everyday sights in the cafes

are really disgusting. Often the cafe, the only social centre where there is music, must be closed at 8 o'clock instead of 10 o'clock on account of disturbances by drunks. The drunks come into the cafes, molest peaceful citizens, start fights, break glasses and smash chairs, use horribly foul language, insult the women, and the Provost if they happen to be there blithely look on and do nothing. I once remonstrated about this with a Provost Sgt., and he said they cannot do anything until the proprietor of the place calls for their help or lays a charge. I spoke to the proprietor: Why not call the police rather than close the place? He said he is afraid to do that because then the soldiers would wreck the place completely or beat him up.

"The Army does not seem to be much interested how the soldiers behave towards or treat the civilians. Only in extreme cases such as armed highway robbery or grievous bodily harm is action taken."

REFORME, May 11, reports some impressions of occupied Austria. The correspondent asked some people what they thought of the various allies, and which they preferred:

"The categorical reply astonished me: 'French—arrogant; Americans—arrogant; English—arrogant; Russians—nice chaps.'"

Much surprised by this distinction, which contradicted many other criticisms of the Soviet troops, I insisted on knowing the explanation. It was explained to me that the French, Americans and British don't give cigarettes to the civilians. Even more, when they are smoking and get to the end of their cigarette they throw the fag-end on the ground and stamp it under their foot. The Russians, more prodigal of cigarettes, are also more careful with their fag-ends."

Towards world federation

"Enter the World State" by Karlín Capper-Johnson. Friends' Peace Committee, 3d.

Here is advocated a Federal World State, which the author asserts pre-supposes the abolition of national armaments; and he reads our Foreign Secretary as recently implying this. Good: but "Who will bell the cat?" Russia offered to, years ago. Our response was The Londonderry air. "Men," says the author, "have discarded the idea that beyond the State there is a moral authority." Contemporary Britain must instruct her representatives to do much better. We prattle about leading the world, but are proud that we retained the bomber. We must grow up. Pamphlet recommended.

J. W. R.

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Camps in Europe

PPU members who wish to take part in international work camps on the continent during the summer will be able to take part in projects organized by the Youth Hostels Association in rebuilding damaged hostels. Applications should be sent in now.

Camps are being held in Finland, Norway, Holland, Luxemburg, France and Italy and members of different nationalities will be working together. Those taking part should be able to give at least ten days to helping the party which they join. Members will be expected to pay their own way.

The various schemes, with the costs, including travel and living expenses, are as follows:

Finland (near Helsinki) about £50; Norway (Mjølfiell) about £25; France (La Coume, Mosset, Pyrenees) and Italy (Bardonecchia, Mt. Cenis Italian Alps) about £20 each; Luxemburg (under the care of the American YHA) about £17; Holland (Arnhem or Oosterbeek) and France (Alps and Vosges) about £15 each.

The parties for France and Norway are full for August and the camp at the Pyrenees is in doubt owing to difficulties concerning materials for repairs.

Members should send in their applications direct to the Secretary, YHA, Welwyn Garden City, Herts., enclosing a stamped addressed envelope, and stating that they are members of the PPU.

IVSP Summer Programme

ADULT volunteers are urgently needed for the IVSP's summer schemes.

At least 50 adult helpers are required for their youth schemes. For girls, these comprise fruit-picking in Cambs., potato picking in Lincs., and work in children's homes in Lancs. and Derby. For boys, harvesting at Shrewsbury, and mixed schemes for fruit picking and market gardening in Glos., harvesting in Devon, and re-decorating a youth hostel in Kent. Mostly these will be in tented camps and will run for six weeks.

Volunteers are also needed for the adult schemes which comprise a harvest camp at South Kilworth, Leics., from Aug. 10 to Sept. 7; the clearance of blitzed sites at Birmingham from July 27 to Aug. 24; and the renovation and redecoration of the Hermitage at West Ham from Aug. 1 to Sept. 28.

The resources of the IVSP are stretched to their utmost and they are having difficulty in finding volunteers for all the demands made upon them. Readers who would like to help should get in touch with the Home Service Secretary, 1 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds, 2.

"Miracle pills"

Medicines for the treatment of malaria, pneumonia, dysentery, local infections and other diseases have been provided free to sufferers in India and China by the American Friends Service Committee.

"Many children who received the vitamin treatment gained from one to three pounds within a short period, showing greater learning ability in school and improved general health," says the AFSC Foreign Service Bulletin. "At first the children had to be urged to take the tablets, but when the results were seen, the miracle pills were in great demand."

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

OUR CHINESE WALL IN GERMANY

SHARP criticism in the Dutch Press of British policy in Germany is reported in *World's Press News*. It quotes the weekly—*Economische Voorlichting*—which on May 4 bitterly attacked the impossibility of obtaining German coal in exchange for vegetables, and went on:

"If we desire to import German goods we are told to pay for these in dollars—which we have not got and are not allowed to pay in vegetables which we have. We could also pay by means of services rendered."

"As long as a sort of Chinese wall is placed between Germany and Western Europe, the rebuilding of Holland will be slowed down."

CHARLES EARL

THOSE who knew Charles Earl personally feel saddened by his death at only 58, but even more—incredulous. It does not seem possible of one so vital. Yet, had he lived, his body, weakened by months of illness, could not have kept pace with his marching spirit. For he had that kind of Christianity that makes men rebels; it was not merely that he totally resisted war—he totally resisted all injustice and unkindness.

He was a local Councillor and when he refused firewatching things could have been made easy for him, but instead he went twice to prison "to share the stand of the youngsters." Those who have read his "Impressions" will sense what that meant to him. He will be sorely missed by his family; his home town will not seem the same place, and the causes he fought for—pacifism, socialism, prison reform, amongst them—are poorer for his going.

HARRY MARSON

Harry Marson, a member of the Wakefield group of the PPU, died on May 19. He was never very robust and a sentence in Manchester prison further impaired his health. He lost his appeal at the Northern Appellate Tribunal, but bravely tackled forestry work though it was quite beyond his strength. His efforts ended in a critical illness and despite an undaunted spirit he has gradually failed.

His loyalty to the PPU and to the Wakefield group never wavered and he attended meetings "when he felt able to climb the hill." He was the local Peace News distributor and sent out the last issue before his death.

Members of the Union will join Harry Marson's staunch parents in mourning the loss of their only child.

Arab woman pioneer.

"A new consciousness and a new confidence" is being created among Arab women, says *Worldover Press*, by one of their number, an Oxford graduate named Lulu Abul Huda who returned to Jerusalem at the beginning of the war to take up social work among Arab women.

She was educated in Egypt and Palestine and later at Oxford. Riding a white Arab horse, she moves among the village communities, encouraging family education, infant care and public sanitation, always aiming to raise the social and intellectual standards of the rural peoples.

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY
LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS, &c.

LONDON, W.C.1, 8 Endsleigh Gardens. Discussion lectures every Sun., 7.30 p.m. June 2, "Francisco Ferrer and the Modern Schools," Tom Earley; London Anarchist Group.

LONDON, W.C.1, 6 Endsleigh Street. Wed., June 5, 7.30 p.m. "Max Plozman," John Barclay and Richard Ward. Central London Group, PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2, Kingsway Hall, Fri., June 7, 1.15 p.m. "Towards World Government"—A. Way Forward. Henry Osborne, M.P. Lunch-hr. meetings. National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

MATLOCK BATH, Derbys. Summer School Aug. 31/Sep. 7. Speakers will include Lionel Curtis, Henry Osborne, M.P. Apply Federal Union, 20 Buckingham Street, W.C.2., enclosing stamped addressed envelope.

STREATHAM COMMON, Sunday, June 2, 7 p.m. Winifred Rawlins, John Barclay.

ACCOMMODATION

WANTED by single woman, bed-sitting-room, with breakfast, Shrewsbury, any week in Aug. Box 406.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

YOUNG MAN requires furnished room, moderate rent, accessible West-end. Box 406.

GARA MILL, House, Nr. Slapton, Kingsbridge, S. Devon. Splendid walking country 2 miles from lovely stretch of coast line. Comfortable house.

PEACE AND rest in lovely valley, 16th century house with modernised comforts. Write Perry, Gara Mill Hse., Slapton, Kingsbridge, S. Devon.

SEA, SUN and sand. Poets' village. Lovely bathing. Orchard. Garden. Small, quiet Guest House. Aug./Sept. only. Terms: 6/7 gns. p.w. Codex, Kensall's Library, Main Road, Felpham, Bognor Regis, Sussex. (Middleton—577).

BIGBURY-ON-SEA, S. Devon. Merriville Bungalow, Vegetarian Guest Hse., excellent facilities for children and adults—some vacancies. Write Proprietor.

HOLIDAY ACMDTN. at High Hse., Bromsash, Ross-on-Wye. Beautiful countryside, own produce. Terms 50s. p.w. inclusive.

RUSHMERE GUEST Hse., Selsey, 200 yds. from sea, comfortable homely, terms mod., early booking avoid disappointment. Brochure Victor Smith (Manager Stephen Stoner & Co., Ltd.). Tel.: Selsey 212.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44).

CORNWALL, NEW Vegetarian Guest House, ready to receive guests. Children welcome. Write Mrs. and Mrs. Osborne Swain, Tremorrah, Tintagel. Please enclose stamped envelope.

EDUCATIONAL SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence or visit) 5s. classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRIMROSE 5686.

FOR SALE & WANTED FOR SALE five £1 shares in Holton Beckering Estates, Ltd. Kathleen Cook, 102 Wormholt Road, London, W.12.

GLADIOLI SUPER, 10s.; Brigid Anemones, plants 10s., corms 5s.; Dwarf Dahlias, Pinks, 8s.; Pansies 3s. 6d. per doz. W. Hitchings, The Forstall, Little Chart, Ashford, Kent.

BOOTS, SHOES, hose, slippers, good stocks. Let me quote you free of charge for anything you require from baby's first size to women's sevens, men's eleven. Ladies' gentlemen's reliable walking shoes speciality. Dempsey, Shoe man, Rothwell, Northants.

JOINER BUILT, new 14ft. 6in. modern caravan, fully fitted, suitable permanent home, 4 berth, £280. "Walden Acres," Hurst, Reading.

SANDALS, NO coupons. Parts to easily assemble, full instructions. Rubberised felt. Smart, strong. Brown, Green, Blue or Grey. Adults 8s. per pair, children's 6s. 3d. including tax and postage. Wilkane Ltd., Dept. 13, Eastbourne.

WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resistors' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

LITERATURE, &c. **QUAKERISM.** Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

PERSONAL

INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY Service for Peace requires men and women help with harvesting, decorating, clearance of blitzed sites during Aug. and Sept. Volunteers receive board and lodging free. Those who wish to give practical help in furtherance of international understanding write to: IVSP, 1 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds, 2.

MONEY MATTERS. Any Christian pacifist requiring financial help for land, hse., business, etc. Write fully, confidentially, enclosing stamped envelope. Box 397.

LONELY? GENUINE and agreeable correspondence friendships arranged. Reliable introductions. Parties, "Letuselpu" Bureau (Dept. 3), 6 Springfield Street, Wigan.

INDIAN JOURNALIST interested in politics, literature, philosophy, plays, pictures and rambling, welcomes friendship of London girl with socialist views. Box 394.

YOU WILL find true Friendship in the L. and H. C. Club. Parties, from Sec., 39 Reighton Rd., London, E.5. S.a.e.

CONTACT CLUB. Congenial pen friendships for all. Parties, etc. Sec., P.N. 19 Ty Fry Gdns., Rumney, Cardiff.

SITUATIONS VACANT We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

QUALIFIED MEDICAL assistant wanted. Please apply to Dr. Thomas, St. Clare, Garth Villas, Merthyr Tydfil.

COMPETENT SHORTHND. typist with knowledge of filing reqd. immediately. Languages useful but not essential. Apply in writing with photograph if possible, stating age, quals. and salary reqd. to War Resistors' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middx.

SITUATIONS and WORK WANTED

CORRESPONDENCE CLERK, own car, typewriter, requires situation. Release June. John Evans, "Toll-house," Headbrook, Kingston, Hertfordshire.

NURSERY OR market gardening work wanted by C.O. who wishes to continue in agriculture after release. Accommodation for self and wife essential. Suggestions please to CBCO, Employment Section, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

C.O., 29, recent demob, pioneers without trade or profession, seeks work. Anything constructive, anywhere, 2 years abroad. Experienced horror and starvation in Europe. Interested in relief. Good appearance, adaptable, conscientious, energetic, adventurous. Box 407.

FIRST-CLASS typewriting, duplicating, etc. Mabel Eyles, 2 Aberdeen Park, N.5.

FOUNTAIN PENS repaired promptly and cheaply. Unwanted pens and parts bought. Weir, 49 Ravel Row, Glasgow, E.1.

GOOD PRINTING of every description. Send stp. for quotation and specimens. Leighton Dingley & Co., 70 Brackley Sq., Woodford Green.

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MISCELLANEOUS **PSYCHO-ANALYSE** yourself under the guidance of experienced psychologists. Box 350.

A WORD to the ailing. Do not despair. Start today. Send for two 20-page booklets of encouraging life-conserving information about Garlic, which comes nearer to a universal remedy than anything given by Nature for the use of man. Send stamps 5d. to Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes up traders bkts. attends to all Income Tax matters; company formation; audits and costing. Provincial clients visited without obligation. Box 96.

PROTESTANTS AND DEMOCRATS

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

such suggestion. There is a general understanding that, if our schemes of nationalization work, they will be accepted, by the Conservatives themselves, as part of the social fabric. It is that which makes the continuance of full democracy possible in Britain.

These conditions do not exist in Czechoslovakia, at the present moment. Hence democratic liberty has to be restricted to those who accept the revolution. When it is generally accepted, and there is no longer any chance of a powerful political party emerging with the object of overthrowing the revolutionary basis, the full freedoms of constitutional democracy may again be established. On the other hand, they may not. On the whole, in the case of the Czechs, my guess is that they will be established again.

The cross-division

AT the recent International Socialist Conference, says The Tribune, May 24, three main groups of parties emerged.

(1) The Labour parties of Britain, the Scandinavian countries and some of the Dominions, which either hold power with a straight majority or feel confident that they can do so in the near future.

(2) The Socialist parties in Catholic Western Europe which after the overthrow of Fascist or semi-Fascist regimes find themselves in difficult tactical positions between strong Catholic movements and strong Communist parties.

(3) The Socialist parties in the Russian sphere, which know that good relations with Russia are essential for the peaceful development of their countries, and whose internal politics are therefore largely dominated by international considerations.

At the first sight the religious factor in that accurate classification—the Catholic element in No. 2—seems anomalous: it introduces that bete-noire of logicians, a cross-division. But, in fact, all those three distinctive groupings have a religious origination.

Church and State

THE Protestantism of Northern Europe—excluding the peculiar Lutheranism of Germany—has found a secular expression in the politics of democracy: of tolerance and peaceful evolution. The Byzantinism of Eastern Europe Orthodoxy, with its immemorial tradition of the identity of Church and State, passes easily

into a position of cosy subordination to the Communist State. A recent example of it is the mass-reconversion (by Ukase, so to speak) of the Uniate to Orthodoxy. The idea that the Christian Church should be the docile instrument of the policy of a Communist State is very strange to inheritors of the Protestant tradition. But it is, and always was, the fact in Russia; and it would be entirely rash to conclude that the Russian Church is a mere sham.

The Catholic Church in Europe has always preserved a certain independence of the State: much more than the Orthodox Church, but less than the fully developed Protestantism of the Anglo-Saxon countries. The point I wish to make is that these various religious traditions are still operative, and probably more influential than we think.

They are important clues to the situation in Czechoslovakia, where the Catholic and the Protestant traditions are almost equally strong, and in Poland too, where Protestantism is much less powerful than Catholicism.

Polish renaissance

IT is hard to avoid a priori political judgments on countries within the Russian sphere; yet the importance of suspending judgment was brought home to me once more when I met a Polish friend of long standing who has recently arrived in this country. He is a non-political man of letters, and he told me of the extraordinary demand for books and periodicals in the new Poland. Editions of 30,000 books where in pre-war days 5,000 was the most to be hoped for. Where the most successful pre-war literary journal had a circulation of 15,000, its successor to-day had increased its circulation from 30,000 to 60,000 in six months, and reckons to reach 100,000 by the end of the year.

What did he think was the explanation, I asked? He gave two: first, that since the agrarian revolution the sons of the peasants everywhere were reading; second, that since the spiritual starvation of the long occupation, the people were definitely hungry for mental food. Lorry-loads of people from the country came in every day to attend the Warsaw theatres, of which seven were functioning; and the Polish dramatic classics were having prodigious runs. In general, Polish men of letters were better off than they had ever been—though it was hard to find anything to spend their money on.

Unbridgeable gulf

TWO other points were emphasized: that the Polish government had a plan for society. They were "clear." Whereas the emigre Poles had no plan, and were vague, romantic and confused: and their aspirations really culminated in the demand for yet another national insurrection: which was—to those who had remained in Poland during the occupation—a plain nightmare. The second point was: that Poland had really undergone an agrarian revolution which had been overdue for fifty years and, in spite of everything, there was in consequence of this an upsurge of new vigour. New forces had been liberated. People were, my friend thought, sadder in England than they were in Poland to-day.

Whether my friend was inclined to paint things rose-colour I am unable to say. But one thing was made clear to me: that there is a great and unbridgeable gulf between the emigre Poles and those who have stayed at home, which reminds me of the gulf which yawned between the emigre Russians and those who lived through the Revolution twenty-five years ago. And, finally, my friend told me that the Russian soldiers were not "arrogant," as the Germans always were.

Margins in India

WAITING for the response of the Indian politicians to the scheme put forward by the British Mission is an uncomfortable business. By now we have learned to fear those subtle Indian minds when they get to work on any effort at compromise; and the longer they have to do it, the more apprehensive one becomes. Let us hope that, by the time these words appear, there will have been definite acceptance from both sides. For, truly, there is very little margin for amendment of the scheme. If either side tries to squeeze a little more out of it, the whole structure will collapse.

£. s. d. of UNRRA

OFFICIAL figures of the amounts paid by the various member governments to the funds of UNRRA are impressive though inadequate to the needs of the starving and suffering peoples in countries where UNRRA operates. Details of the contributions of 32 different countries classified as "non-invaded" and those of 16 "invaded" countries were given by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in a reply on April 15. (Hansard, col. 235.) Some of the main operating and administrative contributions as at March 31, 1946, are given below:—

NON-INVADED COUNTRIES

	Authorised Total.	Already Paid or available.
TOTAL (US Dollars)	3,656,465,110	2,967,328,423
Australia	76,800,000	38,400,000
Brazil	30,195,900	20,000,000
Canada	138,738,738	138,738,738
Chile	2,179,312	Nil
India	24,562,072	24,042,072
New Zealand	16,952,900	8,476,000
Union of S. Africa	18,265,009	4,130,000
United Kingdom	624,650,000	624,650,000
U.S.A.	2,700,000,000	2,100,000,000
Venezuela	1,030,500	684,166

INVADED COUNTRIES

	14,333,911	6,310,000
TOTAL		
China	1,525,000	875,000
Denmark	5,293,161	18,750
France	1,300,000	1,300,000
Poland	1,355,000	1,225,000
U.S.S.R.	2,790,000	1,750,000

TEN YEARS OLD

PEACE News is ten years old next week. There will be a six-page issue for the occasion, and within the limits of space the first 520 issues of the paper will be reviewed, in scrap-book style.

Humphrey Moore, our founder-editor, is collaborating with Jack Cowling, who was also a member of the original Peace News Group and afterwards served the paper for nine years, in a sketch of our chequered fortunes since 1936.

In addition, next week's PN will contain all its usual features.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Oxford Union for relief

A resolution calling for a further reduction in Britain's food consumption to feed Germany was passed by a majority of 105 to 50 in the Oxford Union last week (May 16).

Undergraduates of several Oxford Colleges have also petitioned for the removal of bread from dining tables in order to help in reducing home consumption.

Hackney Election result

Elsie Yates, Christian Party candidate in the by-election on Thursday last week for a seat on Hackney Borough Council, secured 35 votes. The seat was retained for Labour with 778 votes; a "Progressive" polled 556 and a Communist 351.

The London area chairman of the Christian Party states that "every poster bearing the Party Programme was posted over by Communist Party posters."

He adds that other parties have "suffered similarly from the Communist Party. "Such fascist-like behaviour is evidence of a complete absence of political morality, and of a totalitarian desire to suppress opposing viewpoints. How can freedom-loving citizens prevent the continuance of such shameful intolerance?"

Birmingham deputation

A deputation from the Birmingham Committee of "Save Europe Now" met Birmingham M.P.s at the Commons last week. Its members urged that in public statements about the food situation it should be made clear that we get three times more than the Continental peoples.

The deputation included Mr. Henry Hilditch, Miss Connie Jones (secretary) and two local vicars.

Swindon sceptical of arms

Recently the Swindon Public Library Debating Society sponsored a public debate "That the use of armed force is destructive of ultimate peace." The proposer was the Rev. I. Page-Wood and the opposer, a professional soldier, Capt. Haydon. The motion was carried by 20 votes to 16.

The same evening Stuart Morris was addressing a public meeting in Swindon on "UNO and the Peace." Hence the voting at the debate was not weighted by the local PPU group.

"Baffled by inhumanity"

Prof. Norman Bentwich told a recent National Peace Council meeting that responsible Jewish bodies in Palestine and here welcomed the essential recommendations of the Anglo-American report on Palestine. On the question of opposition from Arab peoples he was left baffled by what seemed to be the complete disappearance to-day of "those elementary feelings of charity, humanity and kindness which man feels for man individually, but which groups of people in nations seem entirely to disregard and reject."

Will Green

Will Green, until recently organizer for the North West and Yorkshire areas of the PPU, has been appointed the No Conscription Council's Northern Organizer.

NO ORDER FOR "MEDICAL"

A BENCH of Magistrates has refused to make an order for a C.O. to be medically examined at the "first stage" of his prosecution.

When Ronnie Noble of Guildford appeared at Kingston on May 8, the Ministry of Labour solicitor stated that on a similar charge in January defendant had been fined but not sent to prison.

Denis Hayes, of the CBCO, said that Noble had been working on the land since June and was employed by the Surrey WAEC. This was the first time the Bench had been required to deal with a second prosecution of this kind. By a paradox the understanding attitude of the Bench in not sending him to prison had led to the present summons. He asked the Magistrates to exercise their discretion by refusing to make an order for Noble to be medically examined.

The Ministry of Labour applied for an adjournment, and when the hearing was resumed on May 24 the Ministry agreed that the Bench had such a discretion.

The Mayor of Kingston (in the chair) said that the Magistrates had given a great deal of thought to the case. Defendant would be fined £5. The Bench refused to make an order for him to be medically examined.

They would have liked to be told the Ministry's policy in such cases but had been informed that it would not be in the public interest for a statement to be made.

The Minister had invited the Magistrates to state reasons for their decision. This they must decline to do as their reasons might conflict with the policy of the Ministry in such cases.

Now for No. 27

Conditionally registered COs in Group 26 received their release on May 15.

Group 27 should be released near the end of the month and Group 28 about June 7.

In Appreciation of his life and work

ARTHUR PONSONBY

MEETING

will be held at

FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON

(Small Meeting House)

Fri., June 21, at 7 p.m.

Those taking part:

THE BISHOP OF

BIRMINGHAM

SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN

JAMES HUDSON, M.P.,

RICHARD WARD

LORD DARNLEY

Chairman: Stuart Morris

Admission by ticket, 1s. Apply

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St., W.C.1.

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The Release of C.O.s

Second edition now on sale.

C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

UN-COMMON SENSE

The Illustrated Monthly (4d.)

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Muslim League leader interviewed.
Reports from India and Germany. Inside
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30 Darby Road, Oldbury, Birmingham.
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